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THE LATIN ORIENT

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY, No. 37

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THE LATIN ORIENT

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. THE CRUSADING STATES IN PALESTINE - - -	11
2. THE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS - - -	17
3. THE FRANKISH STATES IN GREECE - - -	23
4. THE VENETIAN COLONIES IN GREECE AND ALBANIA -	41
5. THE GENOESE COLONIES - - - -	51
6. THE KNIGHTS OF RHODES - - - -	56
BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	58

THE LATIN ORIENT

THE Latin States, which arose in the Middle Ages in the Near East, may be divided into six groups:

1. The Crusading States in Palestine, which were the offspring of the First Crusade, and comprised:

(a) The Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1291).

(b) The Principality of Antioch (1098–1188; the city till 1268).

(c) The County of Edessa (1098–1144).

(d) The County of Tripolis (1102–88; the city till 1289).

2. The Kingdom of Cyprus, which, founded by an accident, nominally continued the Kingdom of Jerusalem till it ended as a Venetian colony (1191–1571).

3. The Frankish States, which sprang from the ruins of the Greek Empire as the result of the Fourth Crusade.

(a) The Latin Empire of Constantinople, or of Romania (1204–61).

(b) The Latin Kingdom of Salonika (1204–23).

(c) The Duchy of Athens (1205–1460).

(d) The Principality of Achaia (1205–1432).

(e) The County Palatine of Cephalonia (1194–1483).

(f) The Duchy of the Archipelago (1207–1566).

4. The Venetian Colonies in Greece and Albania:

(a) Crete (1205–1669; two Cretan forts till 1715).

(b) Negroponte (1209–1470).

(c) The Ionian Islands (1206–14; and various dates from 1386 to 1797).

(d) The Ægean Colonies: Tenedos, Tenos, Mykonos, Ægina, Northern Sporades, etc. (1375–83; and various dates from 1390 to 1715).

(e) The Colonies in Northern Greece: Pteleon, Lepanto, Salonika (various dates from 1323 to 1470).

(f) The Colonies in the Morea: Modon, Coron, Nauplia, Monemvasia, etc. (various dates from 1206 to 1540).

(g) The Venetian Revival in the Morea (1685–1715).

(h) The Albanian Colonies (1205–15; and various dates from 1392 to 1571).

5. The Genoese Colonies:

(a) The Black Sea Colonies: Caffa, La Tana, Balaclava, Soldaja, etc. (various dates from c. 1250 to 1475).

(b) Smyrna (1261–c. 1300; 1344–1402).

(c) Phocæa, Chios, Samos, and Ikaria (various dates from 1275 to 1340; 1346–1566).

(d) Lesbos (1333–36; 1355–1462).

6. The Knights of Rhodes (1309–1522).

Thus, in one place or another, Latin domination subsisted in the Near East from the creation

of the County of Edessa in 1098 to the fall of Venice and the consequent loss of the Ionian Islands in 1797. Even then French rule existed intermittently in some or all of the Ionian Islands till 1814; in 1912 Italy occupied Rhodes and twelve other islands of the Lower Ægean, and in 1914 re-established herself at Valona, which Venice had held in 1690–91. Latin rule also took various forms: sometimes that of a feudal State, of which the Principality of Achaia is the best example; sometimes that of a colony, such as Crete; while at Rhodes it presented that of a military and religious Order, and at Chios the more modern type of a joint-stock, chartered company. But everywhere it had to face the difficult problem of governing a race of different political aspirations and different religion, which, in the Near East, is intermixed with politics. Except in a few cases, such as the Gattilusj of Lesbos, the Latin rulers remained to the last aliens, whose hold over their subjects was an artificial and unnatural creation of an age which regarded the Near East much as our generation regards Africa—as so much territory to be partitioned among European races. Consequently, to Greek writers, the Crusades assumed a very different aspect from that which they presented to Western historians, and the Turk was often welcomed by the subject populations as a relief from the Latin oppressor. The whole history of Greece under foreign domination, even when that domination is at its lightest and best, as in the case of the British

in the Ionian Islands and Cyprus, teaches that the Hellenes, like most people, prefer even a less competent Government of their own to the most benevolent administration of aliens in race, religion, and traditions. But there is no more romantic episode in history than that commemorated in the second part of "Faust," which wedded the feudal system with biblical and classical lands, giving us Princes of Galilee and Princes of Achaia, Viscounts of Nazareth and Dukes of Athens.

1. THE CRUSADING STATES IN PALESTINE

THE earliest Crusading State was the County of Edessa, the modern Urfa, founded by Baldwin I. in 1098, and at the time of the Latin conquest still ruled by a Greek Governor. Its brief existence was passed in a continuous state of war, and its boundaries, which extended beyond the Euphrates, were never fixed. The Principality of Antioch had also, only fourteen years earlier, formed a nominal part of the Greek Empire, and it could, therefore, scarcely be wondered if the Greek Princess Anna Comnena looked askance upon the Crusaders, whose culture was far inferior to that of the Byzantine Court, and who, on their way to liberate the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidels, snapped up the territories of Orthodox Christians. The Latin sovereigns of Jerusalem, however, the first of whom was too modest to take the title of king, were mostly above the average in character and intelligence. Godfrey of Bouillon and his first two successors were elective rulers, and it was not till 1131 that the monarchy became hereditary. Society was constructed upon feudal lines; the "Assizes of Jerusalem" formed a feudal code, from which Cyprus and Achaia subsequently

borrowed their organization, but the coexistence of four practically independent States—for, although the Counts of Tripolis were always lieges of the King of Jerusalem, the Princes of Antioch and the Counts of Edessa merely recognized him as first of their equals—formed one cause of the Frankish failure to hold Palestine against a well-organized enemy, directed by one man of consummate ability. Frankish Jerusalem was a limited monarchy, whose head had to consult his parliament of magnates and whose policy was often undermined by their mutual jealousies. In Latin Palestine, as in Frankish Greece, some inscrutable law of population made many baronial families consist exclusively of daughters, and, as the Salic Law did not prevail in the Holy Land, female influence was a great factor in its government, partly because it interfered in appointments, and partly because the number of eligible heiresses encouraged penniless adventurers, whose fate was their fortune.

A peculiarity of society in the Crusading States was the much greater prominence of the middle class than in contemporary France and England. The Crusades were a commercial as well as a religious and military undertaking; indeed, even before the first of them, there was an Italian colony from Amalfi at Jerusalem; colonies from Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles followed; we even find an "English quarter" at Acre. As the aristocracy became diminished by the constant wars, the wealthier members of the trading class were

admitted into its ranks, while, on the other hand, mixed marriages were commoner in the *bourgeoisie* owing to their closer contact with the natives. Hence arose a race of half-castes, known as *poulains* in Palestine and *gasmôûloi* in Greece, who usually combined the vices, rather than the virtues, of both stocks. Contemporary writers like Jacques de Vitry depict the *poulains* in very unflattering colours, as effeminate, luxurious, idle, timid, and despised by the Saracens, with whom they were inclined to make peace and from whom they were ready to accept aid against their fellow-Christians. They not only discouraged the arrival of fresh bodies of Crusaders, because war interfered with their business, but, having no illusions about the Holy Land themselves, by their lives and sharp practices disillusioned the enthusiastic pilgrims. Their dress and manners were Oriental, their motto: *Ubi bene, ibi patria*. Of a true country they were as destitute as any Levantine, who can speak six languages but call none his own.

Except in wartime Christians and Moslems lived in harmony, and Frank barons and Moslem emirs were sometimes friends and even adopted brothers. Many Franks spoke Arabic, and some of their coins bore the name of Mohammed in Arabic for the better furtherance of business. Turks, as distinct from Moslem Arabs, were few, as were the Jews, who formed, as usual, an exclusively urban population. Benjamin of Tudela found two hundred of his countrymen in the ghetto at Jerusalem,

but only twelve at Bethlehem. Tyre and Acre, the chief commercial centres, had the largest Jewish population, but all the Crusading States contained under 8,000 Jews, many of whom had come from the South of France. They could not own land, but were doctors and bankers, and at Jerusalem had the monopoly of the dyeing trade.

Palestine at the time of the Latin Kingdom was, indeed, a "promised land," where the vine, the olive, and the sugar-cane flourished although corn had to be imported. Upon the Sea of Galilee fishermen still plied their craft, but there were few Frankish peasants. The chief manufactures were silk, dyeing, pottery, and glass, and life was agreeable, if neither very intellectual nor very moral. The numerous castles which sprang up over the country, and the ruins of which still remain, were enlivened by minstrels and dancers; there was a considerable amount of high play in Court circles, and the brook Kishon witnessed tournaments, like that held in Frankish Greece upon the Isthmus of Corinth. Yet the Holy Land produced one historical masterpiece, the History of William of Tyre, who dared to record the deeds and misdeeds of his own contemporaries, men whom he had known intimately during his long career as diplomatist, churchman, royal tutor, and chancellor. The nobles beguiled their leisure with French romances, and a knowledge of law was common among them. But the practice of pardoning criminals on condition that they made a pil-

grimage to the Holy Land and stayed there tended to make it a convict station, while the morals of Acre were notorious. These defects were enhanced by the tremendous background of Gospel history, against which even the best of men would have seemed a sinner.

That the Latin rule should have lasted for 99 years at Jerusalem—from 1099 to 1187—when Saladin's victory at Hattin caused its first fall, and from 1229, when Frederick II. recovered the Holy City by the "Bad Peace," to 1239, and from 1243 to 1244, when the Kharezmians recaptured it, and that, even then, it should have lingered on at Acre till 1291, seems extraordinary when we consider the smallness of the Frankish garrison. Like the British in India, the Franks were a mere handful of foreigners in the midst of a mass of native races. The paper strength of the royal army was only 577 knights and 5,025 foot-soldiers, besides the great Military Orders of the Knights of St. John and the Templars, and the *turcoples*, or Moslem light cavalry. At Hattin Guy de Lusignan commanded no more than 21,000 men; Baldwin I. had only 80 knights when he marched upon Edessa. But in the early days—and the Crusading States reached their greatest extension in 1131, when they stretched from El Arîsh "the river of Egypt," and Akaba the "Eloth" of the First Book of Kings, to Mardîn and Schabachtana—the Franks were clean-livers and courageous, while their opponents were im-

moral, unwarlike, and disunited. In Saladin's time the case was reversed; disunion sterilized the courage of our Richard I. in his attempt to recover what had been lost; Frederick II. was a Crusader without faith and against his will; the Crusades of the saintly Louis IX. and of our soldierly Prince Edward were failures; and, after the fall of Antioch before Beibars, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, and the capture of Jaffa, the Kingdom of Jerusalem became a mere skeleton, albeit decked out with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty at Tyre, the coronation city, and with all the wealth of commerce at Acre, the royal residence. Even long after the last vestige of the kingdom had been lost by the capture of the two castles of Tortosa and Château Pèlerin, the Kings of Cyprus assumed the crown of Jerusalem at Famagosta. From Queen Charlotte in 1485 the title passed to the House of Savoy, the present Italian dynasty, and an Italian poet described the Liberation of Jerusalem—an aspiration accomplished again in 1917, after a Moslem occupation of 673 years, by a British force.

2. THE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS

CYPRUS, since 1878 practically and since 1914 legally, a British possession, owed its erection into a kingdom to an English sovereign. Richard I., on his way to the Holy Land in 1191, learning that the ship which carried his sister and his *fiancée* had been inhospitably treated by Isaac Comnenus, the self-styled "Emperor" of Cyprus, landed at Limassol, speedily conquered the island, with the assistance of Guy de Lusignan, and left two justiciaries of his own as its governors, with an English force. An insurrection against the English was easily suppressed, but Richard, intent on the siege of Acre, sold the island to the Templars, who proposed to "exploit it as they exploited their Syrian villages." But a Cypriote rising sufficed to convince the Templars that to govern the island on those principles would require larger powers than they possessed. They handed it back to Richard, from whom, in 1192, Guy de Lusignan, having lost all chance of recovering the crown of Jerusalem, after the election of Henry, Count of Champagne, purchased Cyprus on the same terms, and founded a dynasty, which lasted for nearly three centuries. It is remarkable that his first act was to ask his former captor, Saladin, for his

advice as to the best means of keeping his new kingdom, or "lordship," for this ex-King of Jerusalem styled himself "Lord of Cyprus."

Cyprus was a Greek island, but during the whole Frankish period its history was, except at rare intervals, completely detached from that of the rest of the Hellenic world and possessed special features of its own. It falls naturally into three epochs—that of prosperity down to the death of Peter I. in 1369, that of decline down to 1489, and that of dependence as a Venetian colony. The first Lusignan sovereign laid the foundations of the feudal system in the island; the Franks became predominant in Church and State, the well-to-do Greeks were reduced to vassalage, the Greek peasants to serfdom. His brother and successor, Amaury, completed his work, organizing the Latin Church, introducing the feudal code of Jerusalem, and striving to weaken the power of the nobles, none of whom had the right of coinage, exercised by some of the barons in Palestine and Greece and by the knights of Rhodes. Thus Cyprus differed from all those countries in character: it was essentially a commercial, not a military, monarchy, more independent of the aristocracy and far more defensible than Jerusalem. Anxious to increase his authority, Amaury persuaded the German Emperor to bestow upon him in 1197 the title of "King of Cyprus," to which he added in 1198 the vain honour of "King of Jerusalem" by his marriage with the widowed Queen Isabella. This latter title, how-

ever, passed from the Cypriote crown at his death in 1205, and was not reunited with it till 1269. This double accession of nominal dignity proved to be injurious to the real interests of Cyprus, for the former distinction, involving the German Emperor's suzerainty, led to the civil, or "Lombard" war between the Germanophil, or "Lombard" party, and the Nationalists, while the latter involved the Kings of Cyprus in Syrian politics until the fall of Acre in 1291. That event was a blessing in disguise to the Cypriotes, just as the loss of their sovereign's French possessions was to the English, because the Kings of Cyprus had no further need to concern themselves with the affairs of the phantom realm of Jerusalem, and consequently their island, like England after the French wars, grew more and more prosperous. Commercial concessions, however, first to the Genoese and then to the Venetians, proved fatal to the national interests, because they enabled those powerful mercantile communities to become the real and, at last, the legal rulers of the island, just as, in our own day, commercial monopolies, granted to foreigners, have enabled them to obtain great influence in small Balkan States. With the accession of Peter I., the most valiant of the Lusignans, Cyprus embarked upon a foreign policy of adventure, which contrasted with the concentration of the two previous generations in home affairs. His intervention in Cilicia won for Cyprus till 1448 the fortress of Gor'igos, and the offer of the

crown of Lesser, or Cilician, Armenia, the scene of the recent massacres. In his zeal for the recovery of the Holy Land, he even travelled as far as London, and he was assassinated on his way to assume the Armenian throne. One of those futile questions of precedence, dear to diplomatists, which occurred at the coronation of Peter II. at Famagosta in 1372 led to a quarrel between the Genoese consul and the Venetian baily, the sack of the Genoese warehouses, and the King's capture by the indignant Genoese. Part of his ransom was the cession of Famagosta, the commercial capital of the island which, in Genoese hands, became the chief emporium of the Levant, and was secured in its monopoly by a clause in the treaty preventing the Kings of Cyprus from creating another port to compete with it. His uncle and successor, James I., then a hostage at Genoa, was not released till he had guaranteed the Genoese possession of this coveted place, and the loss of the richest city in Cyprus was scarcely compensated by the acquisition of the barren title of "King of Armenia" in 1393, on the death of Leo VI., the last native sovereign. Thenceforth the Kings of Cyprus wore the three crowns of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia, although of the former Armenian kingdom they held nothing except Gor'igos. James I.'s son Janus, born (as his name indicated) a captive at Genoa, was taken captive by the Sultan of Egypt, upon whose country he had encouraged piratical raids, and

the Cypriote treasury was thenceforth burdened by an Egyptian tribute.

In the next reign, that of John II., a new phenomenon, remarked also at the same time in the Morea, appeared—the revival of Hellenism. Of this the chief instrument was Queen Helen, daughter of the Greek “Despot” of Mistrâ, and the real power behind the Cypriote throne, who naturally favoured the claims of the Greek clergy to supremaey over the hitherto dominant Roman Church. On the death of John II. a Greek half-caste, the bastard James II., aided by the Sultan of Egypt, drove out the young Queen Charlotte and her feeble husband, Louis of Savoy, and in 1464 recaptured Famagosta (held since 1447 by the Genoese Bank of St. George), and thus abolished the Genoese commercial monopoly. But, if he had thus rid his country of one Italian Republic, he prepared the way for the intrusion of another by his marriage with Catherine Cornaro, niece of a wealthy Venetian sugar-planter resident in Cyprus and adopted daughter of Venice. His premature death, speedily followed by that of his posthumous child, James III., left his Venetian widow nominal Queen, but the Republic actual regent, till, in 1489, the latter acquired the nominal sovereignty of the island also.

When Cyprus became a Venetian colony, its prosperity was already on the downgrade. It was still burdened with the Egyptian tribute, as was British Cyprus with the Turkish tribute before

1914; its salt-pans alone were productive of revenue, and the Venetians in vain tried by colonization to remedy its barrenness and depopulation. The Venetian administration was unpopular; its tithe policy was harsh; it exacted forced labour from the people, while the descendants of the old French nobility treated their serfs as slaves. These facts explain the welcome accorded by the Greeks to the Turks when, in 1570, a Turkish fleet appeared off the island. Nikosia, the Venetian capital, speedily fell, but Famagosta held out till August 1, 1571, and then yielded only to famine. The last days of Venetian Cyprus, like those of Venetian Negroponte, were ennobled by the heroism of Famagosta's heroic defender, Bragadino, who was flayed alive. The Greeks found that they had only exchanged one fiscal tyranny for another more rapacious, but Cyprus remained Turkish till the Convention of 1878 placed it under the administration of a colonial Power greater and juster than Venice, but hampered with similar difficulties.

3. THE FRANKISH STATES IN GREECE

THE Frankish States in Greece were, with one exception (the island county of Cephalonia), the products of the Fourth Crusade, which was diverted from its ostensible object to the conquest and partition of the Byzantine Empire. Although the Latin Empire, which replaced the Byzantine at Constantinople, lasted only fifty-seven years, some of the other Frankish and Venetian creations, which sprang from this Crusade, lasted for over two and even three centuries, and survivals of them may still be found in the descendants of Italian families among the Cyclades.

(a) The Latin Empire of Constantinople, or of Romania.

The Latin Empire, of which Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was the first Emperor, lay almost wholly outside the limits of Greece. The deed of partition had assigned to the Latin Emperor one-fourth of the Byzantine Empire, but many of his possessions existed only on paper. In Asia Minor large territories were awarded to him, but before he had time or force to occupy them, two Greek Empires, those of Nice and Trebizond, had arisen there, of which the latter survived by eight years the

Turkish conquest of Constantinople, and the former in the second generation submerged the ephemeral Latin throne, and developed into the restored Byzantine Empire. Baldwin I. might create one of his magnates, Count Louis of Blois, who was nephew of the King of England, Duke of Nice, and another, Etienne du Perche, Duke of Philadelphia; but those Frank duchies lasted but one season. By the irony of fate the Bulgarians, those eternal enemies of the Greeks, saved the Hellenism of Asia Minor by their attack upon the Latin Empire in Europe; the only French Duke of Nice fell in an ambushade before Philippopolis, which had been erected into another Flemish duchy under Renier de Trit; Baldwin was captured by the victorious Bulgarians, and to this day his end is uncertain. A ruined tower of Trnovo, the medieval Bulgarian capital, preserves the name of the first Latin Emperor. The Latin Empire in Europe probably extended as far west as the River Nestos, the boundary of the modern Greek kingdom fixed in 1913; while of the islands which fell to the Imperial share the most important from its strategic position was Lemnos, whose feudal lords, the Venetian Navigajosi, bore with the title of Grand Duke the dignity of Lord High Admiral of Romania. But alike in Asia Minor and in Thrace the Latin Empire speedily shrank. Baldwin's brother and successor, Henry, the ablest of the Latin Emperors, had to face the difficulties of organizing the new Empire ecclesiastically and politically, and already the

numbers of the Latin conquerors began to decline. Many returned to their native lands; many who remained were childless, or had only female children, and this, combined with the tendency of the returning exiles to give their newly-acquired fiefs to the Roman Church, threatened to deprive the new Empire of its defenders, and called for rigorous measures against such bequests. The creation of the Lombard Kingdom of Salonika led to an awkward question of suzerainty with the Emperor and provided the Greeks with the unedifying spectacle of Latin disunion; while in Epeiros Michael I., a bastard of the House of Angelos, had founded a "Despotat," or Principality, which formed the rallying-point of Hellenism in Europe, as the Empire of Nice was of Hellenism in Asia. Like his brother, Henry left no son, but was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Peter of Courtenay, who, while marching to Constantinople by land, was attacked by Theodore, "Despot" of Epeiros, and died in an Epeirote prison. His widow, Yolande, acted as regent till her death, when her second son, Robert, arrived to take the Imperial crown. Upon the succession of his younger brother, Baldwin II., a mere boy, the situation of the Empire was so critical that John of Brienne, formerly King of Jerusalem, was appointed Emperor for life, but that octogenarian warrior could not prevent the decline of an Empire which, like that of the Palaiologoi two centuries later, had shrunk to the narrow limits of the capital and a small strip of territory

round it. Baldwin II. was the last of the Latin Emperors who actually reigned. He raised money by pawning relics, of which Byzantium was then more productive than of military qualities; but his Empire existed merely because of the mutual rivalries of the Bulgarians, then the dominant Power in the Balkans (who swallowed up the Flemish duchy of Philippopolis in 1235), of the Greeks of Nice and of the Greeks of Epeiros, the last of whom had conquered the Latin Kingdom of Salonika in 1223, transformed it into a Greek Empire, but seen it merged in the stronger Nicene Empire in 1246 by the strong Emperor, John III. (Vatatzes). All idea of regaining what had been lost in Asia was abandoned; even in Europe the Nicene frontier was little more than twenty miles from the Latin capital. The successor of Vatatzes, Theodore II. (Laskaris), was a nervous "intellectual," and it was reserved for Michael VIII. (Palaiologos) and his general Strategopoulos to end the Latin Empire in 1261 and restore the Greek throne at Constantinople. Baldwin II. fled to Western Europe, where the barren title of Latin Emperor survived till the death of its last holder, Jacques de Baux, in 1383.

(b) The Latin Kingdom of Salonika.

The Greek lands in Europe were divided, with the exception of the islands bestowed upon the Latin Empire, between the Crusaders, whose leader was Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, and Venice.

Boniface became King of Salonika, and his kingdom, nominally dependent upon the Latin Emperor, embraced Macedonia, Thessaly, and much of Continental Greece, including Athens. Boniface proceeded to parcel out his dominions into fiefs, meeting with no resistance from the Greeks, whose only leader, Leon Sgouros of Nauplia, declined to imitate Leonidas by holding Thermopylæ. But of all the creations of the Fourth Crusade the Latin Kingdom of Salonika was the most fleeting, although Boniface, whose wife was widow of the Greek Emperor, Isaac II., endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of his Greek subjects. From the outset his and his Lombard nobles' reluctance to acknowledge the overlordship of the Latin Empire was a source of weakness, and his early death at the hands of the Bulgarians, who all but captured his capital, placed the young kingdom under the nominal rule of a boy of barely two years, the regency of a woman, and the real power of her baily, the ambitious Count of Biandrate. After his retirement and during the absence of the young king in Italy, Theodore Angelos of Epeiros easily occupied Salonika, which is last mentioned as Lombard in May, 1223. An attempt to recapture the kingdom failed, but the royal title figured in the heraldry of the West till 1320.

(c) *The Duchy of Athens.*

One of Boniface's trusted comrades, Othon de la Roche, a Burgundian noble, received, in 1205,

Athens and Thebes with the title of *Sire*, or, as his Greek subjects called him, *Megaskyr* ("great lord"), and with a territory that would have seemed large to Athenian statesmen of classic times. The history of Frankish Athens falls into three periods: (i.) the French, (ii.) the Catalan, (iii.) the Florentine. During the first, which lasted down to the Battle of the Kephisos in 1311, Athens was more prosperous than she had been, or was again, for centuries. As the reward of his aid, Othon received Nauplia and Argos as fiefs of the Principality of Achaia; his nephew and successor, Guy I., saw Thebes become once again a flourishing commercial city, as it had been before the Sicilian invasion of 1147, where the silk manufacture was still carried on; and the defeat of Frankish Athens by Frankish Sparta at the Battle of "the Walnut Mountain" in 1258, and his subsequent summons before Louis IX. of France for a breach of the feudal code, led to his promotion by the latter to the rank of "Duke" of Athens—a name immortalized by Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, who by a poetic anachronism transferred to Theseus the title of the medieval rulers of the classic city. Under his grandson, Guy II., Frankish Athens reached its zenith of prosperity. The castle of St. Omer at Thebes, of which one tower still remains, could have contained an Emperor and his Court, and its walls were decorated with frescoes representing the conquest of the Holy Land. The Duke was "one of the noblest men in all Romania

who was not a king, and cke one of the richest "; his coming of age was long remembered. The splendour of the Theban Court and the excellent French spoken at Athens struck visitors from the West. Guy II. was also regent of the Greek Duchy of Neopatras, the classic Hypate, and his authority thus stretched from the Morea to Thessaly. But he died without an heir of his body in 1308, and his cousin, Walter of Brienne, who succeeded him, fell, owing to his recklessness, in 1311, in the swamps of the Kephisos, before the Catalan Grand Company, which, after serving the Aragonese King of Sicily against the Angevins and the Greek Emperor against the Turks, had been peremptorily dismissed from his employ by the new Duke of Athens. Few Frankish nobles survived that fatal battle; their widows became the wives of the rough soldiers of fortune whom a single day's work had made masters of " the pleasaunce of the Latins."

The victors had no one in their ranks capable of ruling the duchy, which an extraordinary stroke of fortune had placed at their disposal. They soon realized that it would be to their advantage to connect their Greek conquest with some great reigning house, and naturally turned to their old employer, Frederick II. of Sicily, begging him to send one of his sons to rule over them. For the next sixty-five years the Sicilian dynasty provided absentee dukes for the Catalan Duchy of Athens, who were represented at Thebes, its capital, by a vicar-general. An elaborate system of local govern-

ment was introduced, the " Customs " of Barcelona supplanted the " Assizes of Romania," and Catalan became the official language. The Greeks were treated as an inferior race during most of the Catalan period; the Argive fortresses alone remained to the family of Brienne. Soon those doughty warriors, by conquering most of the former dominions of the Thessalian Angeloi, enabled their Sicilian lord to assume the double title of Duke of Athens and Neopatras, borne by the Kings of Aragon long after the two Catalan Duchies had passed away. In vain young Walter of Brienne sought to recover his lost heritage; he fell fighting against our Black Prince at Poitiers; his Argive castles and his Athenian claims descended to the family of Enghien, whose last representative sold Argos and Nauplia to Venice in 1388. Gradually, under pressure of the Turkish peril, the Papacy came to recognize the Catalan conquest and pronounce its benediction upon those " sons of perdition." But the new generation no longer possessed the martial qualities of the victors of the Kephisos, while the death of Frederick III. of Sicily, their Duke, in 1377, led to a disputed succession between his daughter and Pedro IV. of Aragon. The Sicilian party in the duchies found support from the Navarrese Company, a later reproduction of what the Catalans themselves had been, but the " castle of Athens," the famous Akropolis, held out for Pedro, who described it as " the most precious jewel that exists in the world, and such

that all the kings of Christendom together could in vain imitate." Meanwhile, the Acciajuoli of Florence had obtained lands and influence in the Morea, and from Akrocorinth Nerio Acciajuoli descended upon Athens and in 1388 occupied the "castle of Athens." The Catalans vanished from history almost as completely as the French had done; in truly modern fashion, a family of bankers succeeded to the men-at-arms, as the men-at-arms had succeeded to the men of noble birth. King Ladislaus of Naples conferred upon Nerio the title of "Duke" of Athens, but the Turkish capture of the Catalan County of Salona, the classic Amphissa, and the western, as the Marquisate of Boudonitza was the northern, bulwark of Athens, was a sign of the ultimate fate of his duchy.

The Greeks of Athens had now recovered their national consciousness, and upon Nerio's death the Metropolitan called in the Turks. Thereupon the governor of the "castle" summoned the Venetians of Negroponte, and Athens became, under the name of "Sythines," a Venetian colony, whose chief marvel was the "Church of St. Mary," the famous Parthenon, then a Catholic cathedral. Nerio's bastard, Antonio I., himself half a Greek, starved out the Venetian garrison, and by his statesmanship maintained amidst the rising tide of Turkish successes the practical independence of his Athenian Duchy. His Court in the Propylæa was the resort of Florentine families, and the Athenian history of the time abounds with Tuscan names. Athens

was herself again, the Arno and the Ilissos had met together. But Antonio's successors were not of his mettle, while the Turkish peril drew nearer. On June 4, 1456, the Turks occupied the town of Athens, but the Akropolis under Franco Acciajuoli held out till Thebes, with the rest of Bœotia, was offered to the Duke if he would surrender. Franco lingered on as "Lord of Thebes" till in 1460 the rumour of a plot to restore him to Athens made Mohammed II. order his execution. Thebes and the rest of Bœotia then became Turkish. The brief Venetian occupation of the city of Athens in 1466 and of the city and Akropolis by Morosini in 1687-88 were mere incidents in the long Turkish domination. But their ancestors and their monuments obtained for the Athenians from their cultured conqueror humane treatment and various privileges, which were some compensation for the loss of the brilliant Court and prosperity of the Frankish period.

(d) *The Principality of Achaia.*

Shortly before the capture of Constantinople, Geoffroi de Villehardouin, nephew of the Chronicler of the Conquest, had been driven by bad weather into the Messenian port of Modon. During the winter of 1204 he had aided a local magnate in one of those quarrels which characterized medieval Greece, and, seeing that the Morea was rich and defenceless, made his way to Boniface's headquarters and asked his old friend, Guillaume de

Champlitte, to aid him in conquering it, promising to recognize the latter as his overlord. The two comrades, with a handful of men, won the Morea in a single battle; here and there a resolute warrior held out—Sgouros at Corinth, Nauplia, and Argos; the three hereditary *archontes* of Monemvasia at that Greek Gibraltar; Chamaretos in Lakonia; Doxapatrês in his Arcadian castle—but Innocent III. could greet Champlitte as “Prince of all Achaia.” Champlitte, however, recalled home by the death of his brother, died on the way, and Villehardouin, acting as baily of the next-of-kin, organized the principality on feudal lines, and managed to prevent the heir from arriving within the time allowed by the feudal law. Thus by chicanery, punished in the next generation, he became Prince of Achaia. His elder son, Geoffroi II., increased the prosperity of the Morea; to his Court, with its retinue of “eighty knights with golden spurs,” cavaliers flocked from France; out of the confiscated funds of the clergy, who had refused to do military service for their fiefs, he built the castle of Chloumouïtsi, or Castel Tornese (so called from the *tornesi*, or coins of Tours, afterwards minted there), which still stands a noble ruin. The capital was at the present village of Andravida, when the Prince was not residing at La Crémonie, as the Franks called Lacedæmonia; Kalamata was his family fief. There his brother William was born, a crafty but reckless prince, the central figure of Frankish Greece, who inaugu-

rated his warlike reign by the capture of Monemvasia, built Mistrâ, the medieval Sparta, to overawe the Slavs of Taygetos and the restless Mainates; but by his third marriage with an Epeirote princess became involved in the mutual quarrels of the rival Greek States of Epeiros and Nice; was captured by the forces of the latter at the Battle of Pelagonia, and, in 1262, after three years' imprisonment, obtained his freedom by ceding to the then restored Byzantine Empire the three castles of Monemvasia, Maina, and Mistrâ. This fatal act, which paved the way for the restoration of Greek influence in the Morea, was debated at a High Court held at Nikli, a veritable "Ladies' Parliament," because the Battle of Pelagonia had left most of the baronies in the possession of the widows of the slain or the wives of the prisoners. In such an assembly conjugal sentiment naturally prevailed over reasons of State, despite the scriptural argument of the Duke of Athens, that "it were better that one man should die for the people." From that moment a Byzantine province, with its capital at Mistrâ, was established, and Frankish power began to decline.

The transference of the suzerainty over Achaia from the exiled Latin Emperor to Charles I. of Anjou and Naples in 1267 and the marriage of William's daughter, Isabella, to Charles's second son, by uniting the fortunes of the principality with the Neapolitan Angevins, were another cause of evil to the flourishing Frankish State.

Upon William's death in 1278 Charles I., an absentee, became both Prince and suzerain of Achaia, which he governed by deputies, who, when foreigners, were unpopular with the Frankish nobility, strongly attached to its privileges. The widowed Princess Isabella, however, married Florent d'Avesnes, brother of the Count of Hainault, in 1289, and he thus became Prince of Achaia. The Flemings were insolent, although the land waxed "fat and plenteous in all things"; nor were the Piedmontese, who came with Isabella's third husband, Philip of Savoy, more beloved. Upon the deposition of the Savoyard Prince and his wife by their suzerain the government relapsed to the Angevins of Naples, the Morea experienced the misfortune of a disputed succession, in which the Catalans of Athens took part, and the last Villehardouin princess died a prisoner in the Castel dell' Uovo at Naples. During the internal convulsions of the fourteenth century the Byzantine province grew stronger and was better governed than the Frankish principality, especially when, after 1348, it became the custom to send a younger member of the Imperial family as "Despot" for life to Mistrâ, whose splendid Byzantine churches still testify to its importance in the last century before the Turkish conquest. The two most flourishing cities of Greece were once more Athens and Sparta—the Athens of the Acciajuoli; the Sparta of the Palaiologoi. Meanwhile, just as the Catalans had won a duchy out of Athens, so

the Navarrese Company at the end of the fourteenth century obtained the Principality of Achaia, with Androusa in Messenia as their capital. After the death of Pedro de St. Superan, in 1402, his widow's nephew, the Genoese Centurione Zaccaria, deprived St. Superan's children of their birthright after the precedent of the first Villehardouin, and in 1404 received from the King of Naples the title of Prince of Achaia. It was reserved for Constantine Palaiologos (afterwards last Emperor of Constantinople) and his brother Thomas to end the Frankish principality. In 1430 Centurione bestowed upon Thomas what remained of it, together with his daughter's hand, merely retaining his family barony of Kyparissia and the princely title. In 1432 he died, leaving a bastard to dispute the Greek claims. But the Greek reconquest came too late: in 1461 the last vestige of Greek rule over the Morea disappeared before the all-conquering Turk, whose arms stopped only at the boundaries of the Venetian colonies.

(c) *The County Palatine of Cephalonia.*

Even before the Fourth Crusade, in 1194, Matteo Orsini, an Apulian scion of the great Roman family, had made himself master of the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. After Venice occupied Corfù, in 1206, the Count of Cephalonia prudently recognized her suzerainty, and after her first disappearance from that island transferred his allegiance to the powerful Prince of Achaia. His son Richard,

successor of Odysseus in Ithaka, the medieval Val di Compare, which appears in a document of his reign by its classic name, played a conspicuous part alike in Corfù and Achaia, of which he was respectively captain-general and baily; his grandson, John I., was the villain *par excellence* of Frankish Greece. Another member of this unscrupulous family, Count Nicholas, by the murder of his nephew, the "Despot" Thomas of Epeiros, in 1318, extinguished the main line of the Angeloi, occupied Arta, assumed the name of "Angelo-Comnenos," the Orthodox religion, and the title of "Despot," only to fall by the hand of his brother, John II. Like the great criminals of the Italian Renaissance, this Hellenized Italian was a patron of Greek literature; at his command a paraphrase of Homer by Constantine Hermoniakos was composed (which has been published by Legrand*), while the present writer has seen in the famous Church of Our Lady of Consolation at "the Old Epeirote capital"† of Arta the two bears, which were emblems of their house, with an inscription recording the Orsini—one of the most curious monuments of the Latin Orient, which fulfils the Virgilian prophecy of the union of Italy and Epeiros. His luckless son was the last of the Orsini to rule over Epeiros, which then became partly Serbian and partly Albanian, while he was himself the last Orsini Count of Cephalonia, which, in 1324, was

* In *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire.*, vol. v.

† See the author's article in the *Morning Post* for May 16, 1908.

annexed by the Angevins to Achaia. In 1357, however, the county was bestowed by them upon Leonardo Tocco of Benevento, who united Levkas (or Sta. Mavra) with the other three islands, styling himself from it "Duke of Leucadia," and founded a family, which only became extinct at Naples by the death of the Duca della Regina in 1908. His son, Carlo I. (Tocco), revived the former continental dominion of the Orsini, and both he and his masterful wife, a daughter of the first Florentine Duke of Athens, were regarded as the leading figures of Frankish Greece. Froissart praised her magnificent hospitality and described her Cephalonian Court as a second fairyland. But upon his death, without legitimate sons, family dissensions introduced the Turks; Joannina fell in 1430, to remain Turkish till 1913; in 1479 the Turks annexed Leonardo III. (Tocco)'s four islands and Vomitza on the Ambrakian Gulf, his last fragment of continental territory. His brother, Antonio, temporarily recovered Cephalonia and Zante, but these islands fell ultimately into the hands of the Venetians. The Tocco family, however, continued to flourish in exile, if such it could be called, at Naples, and of it, alone of these Latin dynasties, there is preserved a series of family portraits.

(f) *The Duchy of the Archipelago.*

To the enterprise of private citizens was left the task of occupying the islands of the Ægean. In the Elizabethan manner, Marco Sanudo, a

nephew of the old Doge, Dandolo, with a band of kindred adventurers, descended upon the Cyclades, and at Naxos, in 1207, founded a duchy, which was, except Crete, the most durable creation of the Fourth Crusade. While he kept Naxos for himself, he assigned other islands to his comrades; thus the Barozzi obtained the volcano of Santorin, the Quirini Stampalia, the Ghisi Tenos and Skyros. Although a Venetian, Sanudo did homage to the Latin Emperor, Henry. Each insular baron built himself a feudal castle—of which we have an excellent specimen at Andros—sometimes, as in Paros, using classical buildings for the purpose in approved Latin style. The duchy was much crippled by the triumphant cruise of Licario, a Latin knight made Byzantine admiral; but the dynasties of Sanudo and Ghisi survived the Greek revival until, in 1390, the latter bequeathed Tenos and Mykonos to Venice, which held “the Pope’s island” of Tenos, as it was called from its large Catholic population, down to 1715, while in 1383 the murder of Niccolò dalle Carceri, a great Eubœan baron, who had inherited the Duchy of the Archipelago in the female line by his father’s marriage with the heiress of the Sanudo family, installed the usurper, Francesco Crispo, a Lombard of Veronese origin, on the ducal throne. The dynasty of Crispo lasted till the Turkish conquest in 1566, when this romantic State was conferred upon a Jewish favourite of the Sultan, Jeseph Nasi, an absentee who governed the “isles of Greece” through another Jew,

Francesco Coronello. On Nasi's death, in 1579, the duchy was annexed to the Turkish Empire, but one petty Latin dynasty, the Gozzadini of Bologna, ruled over seven small islands as late as 1617. Nowhere in Greece has Latin rule left so many traces, in religion, race, and language, as in the former Duchy of the Archipelago. But to the last the Latins were a foreign garrison, and their differences with the Greeks did not disappear when they ceased to be a dominant minority.

4. THE VENETIAN COLONIES IN GREECE AND ALBANIA

(a) *Crete.*

BESIDES the Kingdom of Salonika, Boniface claimed possession of Crete, which the Emperor Alexios IV. had "given or promised" to him in 1203. Venice, on August 12, 1204, purchased from him "the great Greek island," and thus began the longest of her Greek acquisitions, and also the most costly. From the outset she had to fight with her rival Genoa, at whose instigation an adventurer, Enrico Pescatore, had landed in the island. When the Genoese danger had been dispelled, Crete was partitioned into fiefs of two kinds, one reserved for Venetian nobles, the other for Venetian burgesses, and divided administratively into six provinces, or *sestieri*, based upon the similar system still existing at Venice. In order to stimulate local patriotism the colonists of each province all came from the same division of the metropolis. At the head of the colony was a duke, appointed, according to the usual Venetian system, for only two years, and resident at Candia; he was assisted by two councillors and a greater and lesser council of the colonists. But in Crete Venice at once found that she had to reckon with the most warlike popu-

lation of the Levant. Insurrection succeeded insurrection, just as happened in the nineteenth century under the Turks. Venetians sometimes assisted the insurgents against their own mother-country; the first Duke of the Archipelago aspired to be "King of Crete"; and in 1363 the most serious of all Cretan risings was headed by Venetian colonists. Moreover, after the reconquest of the island from the Saracens by Nikephoros Phokas, the Byzantine Government had sent there a number of military colonists, whose descendants furnished leaders to the natives of that notoriously difficult country. There was, however, a long period of peace after this last insurrection, and as long as Cyprus was Venetian it was regarded as a bulwark of Crete. Meanwhile, the old feudal system of military service had fallen into abeyance, and when Foscarini was sent on his celebrated mission to reform abuses, vested interests and the Orthodox Church proved stubborn obstacles. The population diminished, the island cost more than it yielded, and the Cretans avowed their preference for Turkish rule. In 1669, after a war of nearly twenty-five years, "Troy's rival," Candia, fell, and only the three fortresses of Grabusa, the island in Suda Bay, and Spinalonga remained Venetian, the first till 1691, the two last till 1715. Venetian rule is still commemorated in Crete by many monuments; the most popular of later Greek poems, "Erotókritos," sprang from Venetian Crete, which was also the birthplace of the painter El Greco,

and the last days of Italian rule saw the birth of a Cretan drama, one work of which is adapted from a Latin tragedy by an English Jesuit. If Venice failed to govern Crete, she in that only resembled all other foreigners who have attempted the task, of which at last even European diplomacy has recognized the impossibility.

(b) *Negroponte.*

The long island of Eubœa, which from a corruption of the name of the Euripos, or channel separating it from the mainland, came to be called first "Egripos," and then from the accusative of that name with the article, "Negroponte," submitted to a Flemish Crusader, Jacques d'Avesnes, when the Crusaders made their march upon Athens, although the north and south of the island had been assigned to Venice by the deed of partition. Boniface thereupon divided the island into three fiefs, bestowed upon three gentlemen of Verona—Ravano dalle Carceri, his relative Giberto, and Pegoraro dei Pegorari—who assumed therefrom the name of *terzieri*, or "triarchs." In 1209, however, Ravano, who had become sole lord, thought it prudent to recognize the suzerainty of Venice, who appointed a baili to look after her commercial interests there. This official gradually became the arbiter of the whole island, which, in order to weaken the power of the Lombard nobles, was redivided, upon the death of Ravano in 1216, into sixths, on the analogy of Crete. The capital at Chalkis remained common

to all the "hexarchs," while Ravano's palace there became the baily's official residence, and the "Crutched Friars" of Bologna established a hospice. The succession to a Eubœan barony led to the fratricidal war between Frankish Athens and Frankish Sparta, mentioned above, and Licario, who did such harm to the Duchy of the Archipelago, was a knight of Karystos in the south of the island. The murder of Niccolò dalle Carceri in 1383 placed two Eubœan baronies under Venetian influence, but in 1470, through the culpable hesitation of her admiral, Canale, she lost, despite the heroism of Erizzo, sawn asunder by Mohammed II.'s orders, the whole island, which Morosini in vain attempted to recover in 1688.

(c) *The Ionian Islands.*

At the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, Corfù was, like Crete, threatened by a Genoese pirate, Leone Vetrano, but he was executed in 1206, and Venice, to whom the Ionian Islands had fallen as part of their share, established there next year ten Venetian nobles as colonists. This first Venetian colony of Corfù was, however, captured by the Greek "Despot" of Epeiros in 1214, and it was not till 1386, after a long period of Epeirote, Sicilian, and Neapolitan-Angevin rule, that Corfù became for the second time a Venetian colony, and so remained down to the fall of the Republic in 1797. Paxo, which formed a barony, was treated as part of Corfù, and the Republic

possessed on the mainland the continental dependencies of Butrinto, the famous Parga (from 1401), a few castles, and (after 1717) Prevesa and Vonitza. The Strivali Islands, the legendary home of the Harpies, were also under Venetian protection. Cephalonia and Ithaka, after the end of the Tocco dynasty, became Venetian from 1483 to 1485, but not permanently till 1500; Zante in 1482, although the Venetians paid tribute for it to the Turks from 1485 to 1699; Sta. Mavra, temporarily Venetian in 1502-3, was captured by Morosini in 1684, and thenceforth remained Venetian till 1797, except for its temporary abandonment in 1715-16, during the Turkish war. The seventh Ionian island of Cerigo, or Kythera, originally from 1207 a Venetian marquisate, belonging to the family of Venier, whose legendary ancestress, Venus, had risen there from the sea, was made a Venetian colony in 1363, as a punishment for the part taken by the owners in the Cretan insurrection, but from 1393 onwards eleven out of the twenty-four shares into which the island was divided were held by Venice, who appointed the Governor, and the other thirteen by the Venier family, as "partners" of the Republic. Venetian rule over the Ionian Islands has left a considerable mark upon them, especially upon Corfù and Zante, and had the merit of preserving one portion at least of the Hellenic world from the deadening Turkish rule. For Corfù, except when the Septinsular Republic was placed under the nominal vassalage of Turkey

in 1800, was never, and the other islands (except Sta. Mavra), practically never, Turkish throughout the long centuries when the rest of the Greek world formed a part of the Turkish Empire.

(d) *The Ægean Colonies.*

The two chief Venetian colonies in the Ægean were Tenos (1390–1715) and Mykonos (1390–1537), the former of which was long the only Venetian outpost in those waters. Under the Crispo dynasty, however, Venice became more and more predominant in the affairs of the duchy of the Archipelago, and twice actually took over the government of Naxos, Andros, and Paros in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, besides holding a part of Amorgos for a longer period. From 1451 to 1537 she was the successor of the Catalan family of Caopena in Ægina (which was temporarily recovered by Morosini but finally retaken by the Turks in 1715), and from 1453 to 1538 held the Northern Sporades. Tenedos, valuable from its strategic position at the mouth of the Dardanelles, was ceded to Venice in 1375 by the Emperor John V. (Palaiologos)—an act which provoked a revolution at Constantinople and the last great war between Genoa and Venice, who was forced in 1383 to abandon the island. Its fortifications were dismantled, and it was uninhabited in the next century. In 1306 Andrea Cornaro, a Venetian from Crete, made himself master of the islands of Karpathos and Kasos,

which, except for a brief usurpation by the Knights of Rhodes, remained in his family, under Venetian overlordship, till the Turkish conquest in 1538.

(e) The Colonies in Northern Greece.

In Continental Greece Venice made her first direct acquisition, that of Pteleon at the mouth of the Pagasæan Gulf, in 1323, upon the dismemberment of the dominions of the Angeloi in Thessaly. Pteleon remained hers till the Turkish conquest in 1470; the Marquisate of Boudonitza, near Thermopylæ, though not a Venetian colony, came by marriage into the possession of the Venetian family, the Zorzi, till the Turkish conquest in 1414; Athens belonged to the Republic from 1394 to 1402, and she acquired Lepanto, one of the keys of the Corinthian Gulf, whose tiara-shaped walls still recall her occupation, from the Albanian chieftain, Paul Boua Spata, in 1407, holding it down to 1499. More important still, the great city of Salonika was for the last seven years (1423-30) before the Turkish conquest a Venetian colony, having been sold by its Greek inhabitants to the only State which seemed able to protect them. The bargain proved, however, satisfactory to neither party. Their brief occupation cost the Venetians very dear and was very unpopular with the Greek notables, many of whom were deported by their "protectors," while many others voluntarily left.

(f) The Colonies in the Morea.

A large part of the Morea had been assigned on paper to the Venetians as the result of the Fourth Crusade; but, not being strong or foolish enough to occupy the whole of their share, they selected those places which would be most useful to their maritime trade. These were the two Messenian ports of Modon and Coron, stepping-stones on the route to the East, which a Venetian fleet captured in 1206 and the Republic retained till 1500. Their territory was extended so as to include Navarino, and there is a whole literature about them in the Venetian archives. No further acquisitions were made in the Morea till Venice, in 1388, purchased Argos and Nauplia from Marie d'Enghien. Argos remained Venetian till 1463, Nauplia and the rock of Monemvasia (the "Malmsey" of our forefathers), which became Venetian in 1464, were her last possessions for nearly a century and a half in the Morea, from which she was forced to retire in 1540. Twice in the early years of the fifteenth century (1408-13; 1417-19) she held the archiepiscopal city of Patras, the second key of the Corinthian Gulf, and later on for a short time she occupied Vostitza on the southern shore, and the indomitable Maina, whose inhabitants boasted themselves to be the descendants of the ancient Spartans. It was thus a characteristic of the Venetian colonies in the Morea that they were all on the sea, easily accessible and easily defended by a maritime Power.

(g) *The Venetian Revival in the Morea.*

It was not till the Turkish campaigns of Morosini that the "Kingdom of the Morea," as it was then called, became wholly Venetian. After capturing Sta. Mavra in 1684, Morosini, in 1685-87, reduced all the Morea, except Monemvasia, which held out, owing to its marvellous position, till 1690. While Morosini's capture of Athens in 1687 was merely ephemeral, although the damage done to the Parthenon was lasting, the Venetian occupation of the Morea down to 1715 had a permanent effect in compelling the Turks to treat their Greek subjects better, and in preparing a new generation of Greeks for the coming War of Independence a century later. Although Venetian administration was far superior to Turkish, Venice was neither popular nor regretted, and in 101 days all her Moreote possessions collapsed before the returning Turks. From the Peace of Passarovitz in 1718 she made no further attempts at fresh colonization.

(h) *The Albanian Colonies.*

The Venetian fleet, which conveyed Morosini, the first Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, in 1205 occupied Durazzo, which had been included in the Republic's share of the Byzantine spoils. A Venetian Governor with the title of "Duke" (as in Crete) was appointed, but the Greek "Despot" Theodore of Epeiros annexed this first Venetian colony of Durazzo about 1215, and it was not till

1392 that "the tavern of the Adriatic" again became Venetian. From that date began the Republic's Albanian colonization: in the next year she obtained Alessio near the mouth of the Drin; in 1396 the Balsha family, which had formed an independent State in what is now Montenegro, with Scutari as its capital, sold that important town, with the neighbouring castle of Drivasto (the modern Drishti), to her; in 1421 she occupied the present Montenegrin ports of Duleigno and Antivari; in 1444 she completed her Albanian acquisitions by Dagno and Satti. Of these colonies Alessio, Drivasto, Dagno, and Satti were finally taken by the Turks in 1478, Scutari in the following year, Durazzo in 1501, and Antivari and Duleigno in 1571, the year of the Battle of Lepanto. Valona, Italy's present possession in Albania, was never occupied by Venice except for six months in 1690-91, although "New" Epeiros, which included it, was held as a nominal fief of the Republic by the first Greek "Despot" of Epeiros by the treaty of 1210, because it had been assigned to her by the partition treaty and transferred to her by her *podestà* at Constantinople in 1205.

5. THE GENOESE COLONIES

(a) The Black Sea Colonies.

GENOA came into the colonial field much later than Venice; she took no part in the Fourth Crusade, and her piratical attempts in Corfù and Crete were unsuccessful. Although she began relations with the Byzantine Empire in the treaty of 1155, it was not till about a century later that she founded her first colony, Caffa, in the Crimea. The Treaty of Nymphæum in 1261, by which the Emperor Michael VIII. made the Black Sea trade a practically Genoese monopoly, naturally increased the prosperity of Caffa, which was sufficiently strong in 1289 to send help to the Genoese in the Holy Land. Temporarily captured by their Venetian rivals, and by their Tartar neighbours, Caffa was speedily restored, and to insure its welfare there was founded at Genoa in 1313 a special committee to look after Euxine affairs, called the "Office of the Gazaria" (the then name of the Crimea, derived from the tribe of Khazars), which elected a Consul of Caffa. Two local councils assisted him in the government of the colony, which comprised not only Genoese, but so many fugitive Armenians that the Crimea was known as "maritime Armenia." Later on he assumed

the title of "Consul of all the Gazaria," which included not only the subsequent Crimean colonies of Balaclava (fortified by the Genoese in 1357), Soldaja (acquired in 1365), and the coast between them, but also La Tana (the modern Azov), founded between 1316 and 1332, and on the south coast of the Black Sea Samsun and Samastri, first mentioned as Genoese colonies in 1317 and 1398 respectively. Besides these colonies, Genoa had a quarter in the capitals of the Greek Empires of Byzantium (at Galata) and Trebizond. Caffa thus became the capital of all the Euxine colonies, which at the end of the fourteenth century formed a considerable territory. But the expeditions of Timur injured their trade, a Greek prince occupied Balaclava in 1433, and the other Genoese colonies in the Crimea became tributary to the Tartars. The Turkish conquest of Constantinople isolated the Black Sea colonies from their metropolis; which, in 1453, ceded all of them to the Genoese Bank of St. George, which had already obtained Famagosta. But their end was at hand: Mohammed II., who had at first contented himself with a tribute, annexed Samastri in 1461 with the rest of the south coast, and in 1475 the rest of the Black Sea colonies.

(b) *Smyrna.*

The chief city of Asia Minor was given to Genoa in 1261 by the Treaty of Nymphæum, and was thus her first possession in the Ægean. But it

was taken by the Turks in 1300, and, although it again became Genoese in 1344, it was captured by the Mongols in 1402, and then again became Turkish.

(c) *Phocæa, Chios, Samos, and Ikaria.*

In 1275 Manuele Zaccaria, a member of that great Genoese family, received from the Emperor, Michael VIII., the alum-mines of Phocæa (or Foglia, as the Italians called it) on the north of the Gulf of Smyrna. His brother Benedetto, husband of the Emperor's sister, one of the boldest sailors and ablest negotiators of his time, occupied Chios in 1304, which he kept as a nominal fief of the Byzantine Empire. These two valuable possessions remained in the Zaccaria family till their reconquest by the Byzantines in 1340 and 1329 respectively. This first Genoese occupation was, however, only the harbinger of the much more durable colonization that was to come. In 1346 a Genoese privateering expedition under Vignoso, originally fitted out against the nobles, who had taken refuge at Monaco, recaptured Chios, old and new Phocæa, and the neighbouring islands of Psara (or Sta. Panagia), Samos, Ikaria, and the Cænousæ. The two Foglie (as they were called), except for a brief Byzantine restoration, remained Genoese till they were conquered by the Turks in 1455; Samos and Psara were abandoned in 1475 from fear of corsairs; Ikaria was granted to the Genoese family of Arangio in 1362 till 1481, when it was ceded to the

Knights of Rhodes. Chios remained under the administration of a chartered company, called a *maona*, a term found also in Cyprus and Corsica. The arrangement was originally temporary—until the Genoese could repay to Vignoso and his partners their expenses—and was, therefore, permanent. The Republic was, however, represented by a *podestà* and a *castellano*, annually selected; the colony coined money, but Chios was to be a free port for Genoese ships. The original company soon sold their shares to a new association of twelve who, collectively, formed an “inn” (*albergo*), and, abandoning their family names, called themselves “the Giustiniani.” Their shares became so much subdivided that at the last more than 600 persons held fractions of them. These arrangements worked so well that there was only one revolt against the mother-country, while by a system of Danegeld the *maonesi* long staved off the Turkish peril. Financially, the experiment of Chios was a success; there was more intellectual life there than in some parts of the Latin Orient; but from the standpoint of the Greeks the *maona* was not beloved.

(d) *Lesbos*.

Domenico Cattaneo of Phocæa, a Genoese, occupied Lesbos from 1333 to 1336, but it was not till 1355 that this rich island was bestowed as the dowry of his sister by the Emperor John V. (Palaiologos) upon Francesco I. (Gattilusio), the founder

of a dynasty which lasted till 1462. From about 1384 a junior branch of the family became possessed of Ænos in Thrace and, during the fifteenth century, the islands of Thasos, Lemnos, Samothrace, and Imbros, as well as old Foglia, were all governed by the Gattilusj. Of all the Latin dynasties in the Levant theirs was the most favourable to the Greeks; one alone of these Genoese rulers was unpopular, and we may trace their success to their connection with the Imperial family, which recommended them to their Greek subjects. They soon became Hellenized, spoke Greek in the first generation, quartered the arms of the Palaiologoi with their own, and took an interest in history, literature, and archæology.

6. THE KNIGHTS OF RHODES

RHODES, seized at the time of the break-up of the Byzantine Empire by a Greek magnate, Leon Gabalas, who styled himself "Cæsar," but reunited with the Nicene Empire, was captured from the Seljûks, the successors of the Greek Governors, by the Knights of St. John in 1309, who since the fall of the Holy Land in 1291, had found a refuge in Cyprus. Rhodes became the centre of their domain, which included the islands of Kos (or Langô), Kalymnos, Leros, Nisyros, Telos (or Piscopia), Syme (or Le Simmie), Chalke (or Limonia), Kastellorizon (the "Castel Rosso" of the Italians), Ikaria (after 1481), and great Delos (the ancient Rhenaia), and on the mainland (from 1389) the castle of S. Pietro (the modern Budrum), besides a brief usurpation of the islands of Karpathos and Kasos, the property of the Venetian family of Cornaro. They governed their islands, either directly, or indirectly as feudal baronies: thus Nisyros was long held by the Assanti of Ischia, while "Castel Rosso" was, in 1450, granted by Pope Nicholas V. to the King of Naples. This strange State, more military than religious, lasted till the Turkish conquest in 1522, despite the great siege of 1480. Mainly French in character—

fourteen of the nineteen Rhodian Grand Masters were from France—the Order was divided into eight “Tongues,” of which England (before the Reformation) was one. All the knights were noble, but their lives, at times, belied their origin and vows, and luxury characterized their rule. Rhodes, however, prospered materially from the booty amassed there, but the history of the smaller islands, as told by Bosio, the historian of the Order, is a record of Turkish raids, while the feudal rule of the Assanti was tyrannical. The knights have, however, left fine monuments behind them. It is interesting to note that Patmos (or Palmosa) was regarded since 1088 as a holy island, was never infested by corsairs, and, with its dependency, Leipso, formed no part of the knights’ dominions, although it enjoyed their protection, but paid tribute to the Turks as early as 1502.

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